
L'ordre sexuel du monde

Marianne Blidon et Sébastien Roux

« Je veux que la France soit aux côtés de la femme qui risque la lapidation parce qu'elle est soupçonnée d'adultère. Je veux que la France soit aux côtés de la persécutée qu'on oblige à porter la burqa, aux côtés de la malheureuse qu'on oblige à prendre un mari qu'on lui a choisi. Je veux que la France soit aux côtés de celle à laquelle son frère interdît de se mettre en jupe. Nous ne pouvons pas accepter sur le territoire de la République un comportement moyenâgeux. À chaque femme martyrisée dans le monde, je veux que la France offre sa protection, en lui offrant la possibilité de devenir française » (Déclaration de Nicolas Sarkozy, campagne présidentielle, Toulouse, 12/04/2007).

1. Cette citation résonne au-delà des clivages politiques. Elle interroge les limites qui séparent les espaces et les groupes en fonction de leur degré relatif de « modernité », déclinée ici dans sa version sexuelle et sexuelle. Cette lecture de la France, de sa place et de ses valeurs traduit une vision hiérarchique des espaces politiques qui non seulement affirme la supériorité d'un espace dominant, mais essentialise également les modes de classement. Le sens commun traduit ainsi dans un registre d'évidence morale et politique une défense de « valeurs » qui, dans un même moment, divise et unifie. Cette rhétorique toute huntingtonienne oppose deux espaces homogénéisés et essentialisés : « l'Occident » – espace moderne, contrôlé, démocratique, éduqué et respectueux des minorités (dans son droit, ses valeurs ou ses pratiques) – se distinguerait des marges – incivilisées, incontrôlées, barbarisées et violentes¹. Ce faux constat produit tout à la fois une exigence d'imposition et le sentiment d'une mise en danger qui permettent à de prétendues « civilisations » performées de se protéger en s'affirmant et de s'affirmer en excluant.
2. Pourtant, si le sexe est politique, la géopolitique s'est peu intéressée aux questions sexuelles et/ou aux questions de genre (Blidon, 2009). Renvoyées à l'intime, aux pratiques personnelles, au privé, le sexe est longtemps resté l'objet de la médecine, la sexualité de la psychanalyse : les sciences sociales ont peiné à le constituer comme objet. Et la dimension politique du soi-disant privé s'est dissimulée derrière le rideau rouge d'une pudeur fascinée, l'illégitimité de l'objet étant tautologiquement renforcée par la manière de l'envisager (Perreau, 2008). Cette difficulté initiale continue de se prolonger et de produire ses effets, en limitant la compréhension du sexuel à ce qui se donne directement

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